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tic or racial differential. It might be well to define how certain other terms are used.

CAMP: This term distinguishes the settlement of the Mbuti from that of the villagers. There may be hunting camps, those situated in the forest and from which hunting is conducted, or village camps, those occupied by the Mbuti when they are visiting their villager neighbors.

BAND: This refers to the total Mbuti hunting population, regardless of kinship, that recognizes and utilizes a common hunting territory. The band may occupy a single camp or split into several camps within the same territory.

VILLAGE: The settlement of the Bantu and Sudanic cultivators who have pressed into the forest. Such a village is likely to have a much more clear-cut kinship composition and political identity than an Mbuti band.

VILLAGER: This term, unless otherwise stated, may be taken to refer to any of the cultivators in the Ituri Forest, Bantu or Sudanic, with whom the Mbuti have contact. The use of the different tribal names, such as Bira, Ndaka, Lese, and so forth, would not only be unnecessarily cumbersome but suggest that the relationship varied significantly according to the structure of each individual villager tribe, whereas it seems, for the moment at least, that

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the basis of the relationship is the fact that these tribes are village cultivators and not forest hunters.

LINEAGE: We adhere to the definition and usage suggested in "Notes and Queries on Anthropology" (1954, 88–89). The definition is given as follows: "A lineage consists of all the descendants in one line of a particular person through a determinate number of generations."

CLAN: Similarly, we use this term as suggested in "Notes and Queries" (1954, 89–90) whereby clan members may trace their unilineal relationship through one line or the other, i.e., we do not use it in the sense of a matriclan as opposed to a gens. Further, we here regard the lineage as a subdivision of the clan, lineage members being able to trace their membership to a known ancestor. A number of such lineages hold themselves to be related by the common descent of the lineage ancestors from a remote, possibly fictional or totemic ancestor.

GROUP: Whereas I have in the original sur-

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GROUP: Whereas I have in the original survey, and elsewhere, used the term "group" as I now use the term "band," particularly when translating from the German (*Lokalgruppe*), I now use the term "band" as above, and use "group" only generally to distinguish, say, archers from net hunters, or Mbuti from villagers.

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THE BANTU PREFIX: This has been dropped throughout whenever I refer to persons or objects. Thus we talk of the Bira, Ndaka, and Mbuti rather than the BaBira, BaNdaka, or BaMbuti. This change is in consonance with the current practice of the International African Institute. However, we retain the "Ki" prefix to indicate language—KiBira, KiNdaka, KiMbuti.

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Indigenous terms, except for place, proper, or personal names, are italicized.

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Illustrations have been added. These do not set out to represent the total material culture of the Mbuti, but were drawn from the collections of the American Museum by Mr. Nicholas Amorosi.

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This is a glossary of terms used by Epulu Mbuti, as cited in the text. Owing to the frequency with which the Mbuti mingle words originating from different local languages, while most of the words given here are of Bira origin, some derive from KiNgwana. Further, owing to the Mbuti habit of dropping or adding vowels or consonants for the sake of euphony, and to their ambivalent attitude toward prefixes, I give the words as used in speech without attempting to reduce them to roots, except where there is no doubt. Thus "*bo'o*" in Mbuti usage I give as the KiBira original, "*bobo*"; where in doubt I suggest a possible derivation such as "*ekimi*" from "*kimia*" (KG). Wherever the derivation is apparently from KiNgwana, I insert (KG).

akami: noise (from *kami:* to cry?).
angbe: a tree and the wood from the tree, important for honey.
angbelu: medicine for honey season (from *lu-* to talk, call?).
anjo: hunting medicine.
anza: good.
apua'i: friend, sibling.
bamiki ba ndura: children of the forest.
batu ba ndura: people of the forest.
batu banji: people of the village.
bekbekbe'i: very (much).
bera'i: melody (solo).
bo: good.
bobo: empty.
boki: honey.
bokbu: all.
bonga: good (in a fuller sense than *bo*).
bongisa: to make good, to rejoice.
bopi: children's playground.
boru: the "house" (*endu*) of the soul; i.e., the body.
bulé: (KG) empty, worthless, troublesome.
chahwa: youth(s).
chanja: (KG) to make light incisions in the skin, for tattoo or for insertion of medicines.
chawi: (KG) witch.
che'i: fear.
eboko: banana.
ekimi: (ref. *kimia* [KG]) quiet.
ekokomea: erotic dance for *molimo* and for honey season.

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• 104 *ekonga:* spear.
ekondi: love.
elima: premarital festival in which girls and boys both take part, signaled by a girl's first menstruation.
ema: mother.
endu: house, hut, room.
epa: father.
esumba: (KG) ritual originally associated with elephant-hunting for Arab slavers, sometimes used interchangeably with the word *molimo.*
furahisa: (KG) to rejoice, make festive.
ganga: to mend, bind together, cure; hence *mganga* or *muganga,* doctor.
imia'i: chorus, refrain.
isa: fire.
ishumbwa: another form of *esumba* (KG), possibly of slightly different significance to the Ngwana, not to the Mbuti.
itaba: edible forest root.
kali: girl, woman.
kalisia: a name sometimes used for the godhead (forest).
kami: to cry, which is defined as making a noise (*akami* or *kelelé* [KG]).
karé: brotherhood in the *nkumbi* initiation.
kelelé: (KG) noise.
keti: a forest spirit, neither good nor bad to the Mbuti, but evil to the Bira.
kidi: come, arrive.
kimia: (KG) quiet (ref. *imia'i,* chorus, and association of song with the value of *ekimi*).
kiyana: (KG) youth(s).
kobi(a): fear, be wary or cautious, but more often used as:
kobi: to keep very quiet.
kobinengo: silence.
kondi: to love, have affection for.
kuma: hearth.
kuya: hunting net.
langé toro: sleep; lit., "to lie sleep."
le: eat.
leahwa: food.
lendu: an antelope.
lozi: (KG) sorcerer.
lufu: say, talk, call.
lukembi: (KG) musical instrument, an idiophone better known as *sanza* in Swahili.
madé: wooden whistle.
madé: lesser (as in *molimo ma*
mangbo: great.

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mangesé: elder.
mavi: (KG) excrement.
mbafu: (KG) stupidity.
mboko: buffalo.
mḅoloko: small antelope.
mbongu: elephant.
miki: child.
moko: brother.
molimo: men's religious association, a festival of crisis among both the Mbuti and the Bira, and also associated with a musical instrument among both, but otherwise quite distinct.
mongongo: phrynium leaves used for roofing (ref. *makongo* [KG]).
mota: hard, difficult, dangerous.
mukira: hunt, hunter (also in KG).
mungu: (KG) God.
nanji: village.
ndandama: stupidity.
ndasi: too much.
ndura: forest.
nengo: very.
ngbengbe: wooden clappers used in honey season.
nguvu: (KG) difficult, hard, heavy.
njelani: vine used for making baskets.
nkumbi: initiation of the Bira for boys.
nkusa: vine used in making twine and nets.
nyama: animal.
oki: hear.
oni: see.
pati: take to oneself, cover oneself, become.
pepo: vital essence, vital breath, life force of the forest.
pika: to come, bring.
piki: whistle of wood.
pisa: give, pass over, put.
ponisa: (KG) punish.
roho: individual self, personality (with different connotations when used by Bira or Ngwana).
satani: (KG, also *shaitani, saitani*) spirit, ghost, evil if used by villagers, or by Mbuti if referring to village "satani."
segbe: wooden whistle (as for *piki, madé*) for magical use.
shamba: (KG, also *samba*) plantation.
sinana: bad.
sindula: water chevrotain.
sondu: a large antelope.

songé: moon.
suba: within.
s'uti: sound.
tata: grandparent.
teré: the godhead, primarily in its judicial, authoritative aspect (ref. morning *molimo* cries of "*e teré*": "it is *teré*").
tiko: plantation.
toré: as for *teré*.
wendi: to hunt.

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Glossary

BABIRA The Negro village tribe with which the Epulu Pygmies have most contact. As is characteristic of Bantu peoples, *Ba* is a plural prefix, the tribal name being *Bira*. The singular prefix is *Mu*, and the prefix indicating the language of the people is *Ki*. Thus a *Mu*Bira speaks the *Ki*Bira language, as do all the *Ba*Bira villagers.

BAKPARA The term by which the Negroes refer to the relationship to the Pygmies; best translated "Masters."

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BaLese The major village tribe to the east and northeast of the Epulu district.

BaMbuti General term for all Pygmies of the Ituri Forest.

BaNgwana An Islamic tribe scattered throughout the area. Their unsavory reputation, acquired in the days when they aided and abetted the slave-traders, has continued right up to the present day. KiNgwana has become the lingua franca of the entire area.

Banja A pair of short sticks, split into many strands at one end and clapped together on a log as rhythmic accompaniment to certain songs of the Pygmies, particularly the *molimo* songs.

Bantu General term for all tribes speaking a certain type of language, characterized by the use of prefixes, as indicated under BaBira, above, etc. The Bantu peoples extend throughout eastern, southern, and central Africa.

Baraza The meeting place of a family or village. Sometimes a large veranda built onto a house; more often a separate building consisting of a roof supported by poles, but with no walls.

Dawa "Medicine"; may refer to effective herbs or equally to magical incantations or spells.

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Ebamunyama Literally, "His Father Killed an Animal"; the name which the Pygmies gave to me, being their condensation of the story that I told to explain my name, "Turnbull." (A borderland Scot saved the king's life by leaping on the back of a bull and turning it away from the king by twisting its

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neck. The family was rewarded with the title "Turner of the Bull," and with a crest of a bull with a broken neck.)

ELIMA The festival celebrating the puberty of girls.

FITO A young straight sapling, up to twelve feet in length, used in the construction of house frames, also as whips during certain ceremonies.

ITABA A sweet root found only in the forest, considered a delicacy by the Pygmies.

KANGAY The gardenia fruit, used by Pygmies to extract a black juice used for staining the body or for drawing patterns on bark cloth.

KENGE An antelope, sometimes an okapi; such names are occasionally, but not often, given to children, as in the case of my helper and friend.

KUMAMOLIMO "The heart of the *molimo*"—the central meeting place of the men's religious organization.

LENDU A forest antelope, the size of a large dog, with sharp-pointed horns.

LIKO A brew made by the Pygmies of forest berries, herbs, and cola nut.

MACHETTI A large-bladed knife used for cutting fito, etc.

MANGESE The Pygmy term, also used by some BaBira, for the elders. As used by Pygmies it can also refer to a youngster, if he has shown himself to be a "Great One" by some spectacular hunting achievement, say killing a buffalo or an elephant single-handed.

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104 **MBOLOKO** The smallest forest antelope, barely the size of a rabbit.

MOLIMO The name given by the BaMbuti to the ritual performed at times of great crisis, and consisting primarily of songs sung nightly by the men. It is also the name given to the musical instrument, a long trumpet, usually of wood, that plays an important part in the ritual.

MONGONGO A large heart-shaped leaf, sometimes nearly two feet across, used for thatching the roofs of huts by both the Pygmies and the villagers. They are laid like tiles, the upper row overlapping the lower.

NDURA As used by the BaBira, this means the forest; as used by the Pygmies, it means the entire world. When Kenge saw the plain beyond the forest, with barely a tree in view, he referred to it as "ndura."

NGBENGBE Two short sticks, stripped of bark and clapped together to give a hollow ringing tone. Used for rhythmic accompaniment to the honey songs of the Pygmies. Possibly in imitation of the sound of a honey ax chopping to get at the hive.

NKULA Both the nut and the red wood of the nkula tree. The wood is scraped to give a red powder which makes a stain when mixed with water. Used for both body and bark-cloth decoration.

NKUSA The vine from which the Pygmies make twine for their hunting nets.

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NYAMA Any animal; also used as a term of abuse.

OKAPI A forest animal, related to the giraffe, found only in this area.

PANDA A gambling game played with beans which are thrown on the ground by two players. The skill consists in estimating at a glance how many beans have to be added to those on the ground to make up a multiple of four.

SINDULA The water chevrotain, an aquatic antelope which is particularly vicious when trapped. It is considered the best eating in the forest.

SONDU A large forest antelope.

TIPPU TIP (also Tibbu Tib, etc.) Notorious slave-trader of the nineteenth century. From his headquarters on Zanzibar he sent out caravans through eastern and central Africa, using tribes such as the Ba-Ngwana to round up slaves and ivory.

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